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a man who lived elsewhere, yet had an interest in Corbény, as a fellow-Benedictine.<sup>32</sup> Now, inasmuch as there is reason to believe that the other great Grail romance of the Vulgate cycle (the *Estoire*) was composed at Corbie, it is most likely that this was, also, the place of origin of the *Queste*. According, then, to the evidence which I have set forth in this article it would seem that the author of the *Queste*, who was the first to supplant Perceval by Galahad in the Grail tradition, wrote his romance at Corbie, and that a monk of the same abbey followed it up a few years later with the *Estoire*.

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### LUCAN'S PHARSALIA AND JONSON'S CATILINE

In his discussion of "Source-Material for Jonson's Plays" (*M. L. N.*, xxxi), Professor Briggs commented upon the poor working up of the sources for *Catiline*. I shall present here the patent borrowings from Lucan's *Pharsalia*. For the text of *Catiline* I follow a copy of the 1616 Folio; for Lucan, the edition of Haskins. I, 1.

A Senecan prologue is spoken by the ghost of Sulla. The selection of Sulla's ghost is clearly influenced by *Pharsalia*, I, 580:

Et medio visi consurgere Campo  
Tristia Sullani cecinere oracula manes.<sup>1</sup>

calls the Grail castle (251-2) *Munsalvaesche* (= *Mont Salvage*), which is the exact equivalent of *Wildenberg*. Perhaps the identification was a stroke of humor.

<sup>32</sup> The similarity of names—*Corbie* and *Corbény*—may have suggested to the author the use of the latter name. It may seem strange that the *Estoire* (I, 244) should make Mordrain found an abbey of White Monks (Cistercians), instead of Benedictines, since Corbie, itself, was a Benedictine monastery. But a writer of romances has freedom in such matters, and, after all, Maurdrannus was not the founder of Corbie.

<sup>1</sup> The rise of the curtain discovers Catiline in his study. The following echoes Lucan:

I can loose  
My pietie; and in her stony entrailes  
Dig me a seate.

*Phars.*, I, 2:

Canimus populumque potentem  
In sua victrici conversum viscera dextra.

The conspirators shortly meet at Catiline's house. The six lines beginning 'It is, me thinks, a morning, full of fate!' Briggs has referred to *Phars.*, I, 233-6. The conspirators boast of what they will do when in power:

I would haue seene . . .

The degenerate, talking gowne runne frighted . . .

O, the dayes

Of SYLLA'S sway, when the free sword tooke leaue  
To act all that it would! . . .

Sonnes kild fathers,

Brothers their brothers . . . .  
All hate had licence giuen it: all rage raines. . . .  
No age was spar'd . . . no degree.  
Not infants in the porch of life were free.  
The sick, the old, that could but hope a day  
Longer, by natures bountie, not let stay. . . .  
'Twas crime inough, that they had liues.  
To strike but onely those, that could doe hurt,  
Was dull, and poore. Some fell to make the number. . . .

The rugged CHARON fainted,<sup>2</sup>  
And ask'd a nauy, rather then a boate,  
To ferry ouer the sad world that came:  
The mawes, and dens of beasts could not receiue  
The bodies, that those soules were frighted from;  
And e'en the graues were fild with men, yet liuing,  
Whose flight, and feare had mix'd them, with the dead. . . .  
The statues melt againe; and houshold gods  
In grones confesse the trauaile of the citie.

Whalley had referred some of these lines, although not all, to Lucan. The following is complete:

Degenerem patiere togam (I, 365).  
Lateque vagatur  
Ensis et a nullo revocatum est pectore ferrum (II, 102).  
Nati maduere paterno  
Sanguine (II, 149).  
In fratrum ceciderunt praemia fratres (II, 151).  
Tum data libertas odiis, resolutaque legum  
Frenis ira ruit (II, 145).  
Nulli sua profuit aetas (II, 104)  
Nobilitas cum plebe perit (II, 101).

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<sup>2</sup> Briggs pointed out another parallel for this passage in Petronius, *Sat.*, 121, 117. As Jonson has been utilizing Lucan so much at this point, however, it would seem rather that the leading idea was from Lucan, and that the hints from Petronius were worked in as an embellishment.

Nec primo in limine vitae  
 Infantis miseri nascentia rumpere fata (II, 106).  
 Non senis extremum piguit vergentibus annis  
 Praecipitasse diem (II, 105).  
 Sed satis est iam posse mori (II, 109).  
 Et visum est lenti quaesisse nocentem,  
 In numerum pars magna perit (II, 110).  
 Praeparat innumeras puppes Acherontis adusti  
 Portitor (III, 16).  
 Busta repleta fuga, permixtaque viva sepultis  
 Corpora: nec populum latebrae cepere ferarum (II, 152).  
 Indigetes flevisse deos urbisque laborem  
 Testatos sudore Lares (I, 556).

Several of the portents occurring during the meeting were suggested by the *Pharsalia*: sudden darkness (VII, 451), extinction of the vestal flame (I, 549), groans (VIII, 760), and a bloody arm waving a torch (I, 572). Cethegus dismisses their fears: 'We feare what our selues faine,' echoing *Phars.*, I, 146: 'Quae finxerit.' A moment later Cethegus says, 'Differing hurts, where powers are so prepar'd'; *Phars.*, I, 281: 'Semper nocuit differe paratis.'

In the chorus following, the description of Rome's luxury seems largely suggested by the account of Cleopatra's dinner to Cæsar, in *Phars.*, x, 104 ff.—silk couches, ivory tables, gold and crystal goblets, and the like.

### III, I.

Cethegus again boasts of what the conspirators will do:

Then is't a prey,  
 When danger stops, and ruine makes the way.

So *Phars.*, I, 149-50:

Impellens quidquid sibi summa petenti  
 Obstaret, gaudensque viam fecisse ruina.

### III, II.

Fulvia visits Cicero, and acquaints him with the plot. Eight lines of Cicero's speech beginning, 'Is there a heauen?' are imitated from *Phars.*, III, 445 ff.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Compare also Seneca, *Hippolytus*, 671 ff.

A little later Cicero says, 'For unto whom *Rome* is too little, what can be inough?' From *Phars.*, v, 274: 'Quid satis est si Roma parum?'

#### IV, II.

After Cicero's oration, Catiline rises to answer. He speaks derisively of Cicero:

The gods would rather twentie *Romes* should perish,  
Then haue that contumely stuck vpon 'hem,  
That he should share with them, in the preseruing  
A shed, or signe-post.

On seeing that Cicero is terrified, Catiline exclaims:

In vaine thou do'st conceiue, ambitious orator,  
Hope of so braue a death, as by this hand.

Briggs mistakenly connected this passage with a passage in the *Æneid*, xi, 406 ff. For both passages cited, Jonson evidently had in mind the Cæsar-Metellus incident in *Phars.*, III, 138 ff., 134 ff.:

Non usque adeo permiscuit imis  
Longus summa dies, ut non, si voce Metelli  
Seruentur leges, malint a Caesare tolli.

Vanam spem mortis honestae  
Concipis: haud, inquit, iugulo se polluet isto  
Nostra, Metelle, manus.

Catiline continues:

Nor honor . . .  
Shall make thee worthy CATILINES anger.

*Phars.*, III, 136:

Dignum te Caesaris ira  
Nullus honos faciet.

#### IV, v.

On Catiline's leaving the city, the other conspirators try to tempt the Allobrogian ambassadors. Cethegus breaks out:

Why . . . talke you so long? This time  
Had been inough . . .  
T'haue . . . made the world  
Despaire of day.

*Phars.*, I, 543:

Gentesque coegit  
Desperare diem.

V, vi.

The conclusion presents Petreius relating Catiline's end:

For in such warre, the conquest still is black. . . .  
And all his hosts had standing in their lookes,  
The palenesse of the death, that was to come. . . .  
But himselfe  
Strooke the first stroke; and, with it, fled a life.  
Which cut, it seem'd, a narrow necke of land,  
Had broke between two mightie seas; and either  
Flow'd into other; for so did the slaughter:  
And whirl'd about, as when two violent tides  
Meet, and not yeeld. . . .  
They knew not, what a crime their valour was. . . ,  
(Catiline) ran in  
Into our battaile like a *Lybian* lyon,  
Vpon his hunters, scornefull of our weapons,  
Careless of wounds, plucking downe liues about him,  
Till he had circled in himselfe with death:  
Then fell he too, t'embrace it where it lay . . .  
And as, in that rebellion 'gainst the gods,  
MINERVA holding forth MEDVSA'S head,  
One of the gyant brethren felt himselfe  
Grow marble at the killing sight, and now,  
Almost made stone, began t'inquire, what flint,  
What rocke it was, that crept through all his limmes,  
And, ere he could thinke more, was that he fear'd,  
So CATILINE.

Compare with these lines the following passages from the *Pharsalia*:

Omne malum victi, quod sors feret ultima rerum,  
Omne nefas victoris erit (VII, 122).  
Multorum pallor in ore  
Mortis venturae est (VII, 129).  
Qualiter undas  
Qui secat et geminum gracilis mare separat Isthmos  
Nec patitur conferre fretum, si terra recedat,  
Ionium Aegaeo frangat mare: sic, ubi saeva  
Arma ducum dirimens miserando funere Crassus  
Assyrias Latio maculavit sanguine Carras,  
Parthica Romanos solverunt damna furores (I, 100 ff.).

Et qui nesciret in armis  
 Quam magnum virtus crimen civilibus esset (vi, 147).  
 Sicut squalentibus arvis  
 Aestiferae Libyes viso leo comminus hoste  
 Subsedit dubius totam dum collegit iram;  
 Tum torta levis si lancea Mauri  
 Haereat, aut latum subeant venabula pectus;  
 Per ferrum tanti securus vulneris exit (i, 205 ff.).  
 Quem, qui recto se lumine vidit  
 Passa Medusa mori est? rapuit dubitantia fata  
 Pervenitque metus: anima periere retenta  
 Membra nec emissae riguere sub ossibus umbrae.  
 Coeloque timente  
 Olim Phlegraeo stantis serpente gigantes,  
 Erexit montes, bellumque inmane deorum  
 Pallados in medio confecit pectore Gorgon (ix, 638 ff., 654 ff.).

Another parallel to the last figure, it should be said, even closer in some respects, is to be found in Claudian, *Car.*, 53. An examination will show that the leading ideas of the two poets have been cleverly interwoven.

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#### ROBERT BARON'S TRAGEDY OF *MIRZA*

That Robert Baron's tragedy of *Mirza* shows imitations of Jonson has already been indicated, but only, so far as I am aware, in general terms. Langbaine, who has put the matter so mildly that his words are almost humorous, says:<sup>1</sup> "The Author seems to have propos'd for his pattern the famous *Catiline*, writ by *Ben. Jonson*: and has in several places not only hit the model of his Scenes: but even imitated the Language tolerably, for a young Writer." To show how very "tolerably" Baron had "imitated the language, for a young writer," Langbaine transcribes the first six lines spoken by Sylla's ghost in *Catiline*, and compares with them the first eight lines spoken by Emir-hamze-mirza's ghost in *Mirza*; but he proceeds no further into the matter. Warton tells us that *Mirza* is nothing more or less than a copy of Jonson's *Catiline*.<sup>2</sup> This, however, is a gross exaggeration. Gifford, who

<sup>1</sup> *An Account of the English Dramatick Poets* (1691), p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> *Poems upon Several Occasions, English, Italian, and Latin, with Translations*, by John Milton (1791), p. 407.